1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size.

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics:

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who represented the village activities and peace functions of the tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war expedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epidemic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting during the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan, and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

According to tradition the original Lone Man established the rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778
1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 776 773 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 614 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

787 159 176

came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

[428]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fish-hook Village.

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 773 776 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 773 776 533 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit; (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one — in autumn
here I go (come to) — Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge — we have come lodge — they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above — I am walking
Earth on — I am walking

773 539 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF) RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages

6. Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

7. A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

8. For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 778 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat" or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 782 776 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

1. Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The presence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, surviving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure information about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The instruction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman.

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear.

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle.

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle.

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows:

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 539 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the

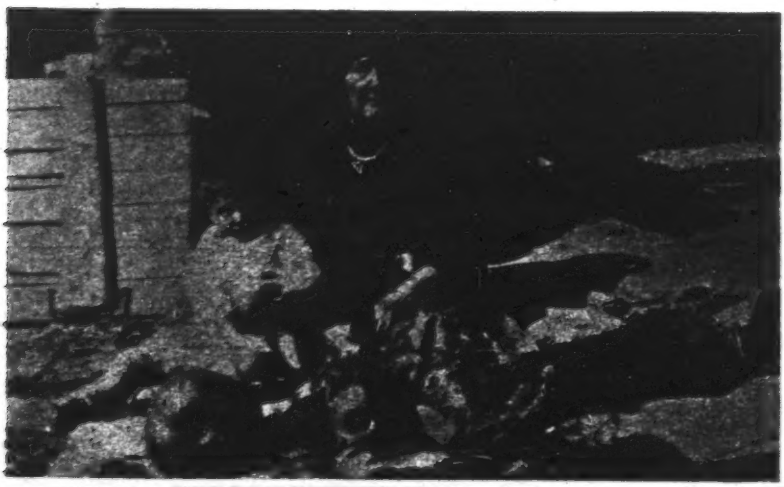

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

4. The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 5. Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

6. The rites were of major bundle status.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths.

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle.

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died.

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power" was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections.

AGRICULTURE: — The Mandans were, above all, an agricultural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people.

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 286.

[2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

831 171 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the 587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 601 606 551 Children were never disciplined and were always humored by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle. Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

●776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka–Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

who lives on the planet Venus and protects men. Fifth was one called the Lying Prairie Wolf, a sort of wandering Jew and evil spirit, but without power. Lastly was Ochkih-Hedde; he came once to the village and taught them many things, then disappeared. When anyone saw him in a dream it was a sign of death. Sacrifices were offered to him and images of him were exposed in the village.

The sun was worshipped as the place where the Lord of Life lived. In the moon lived the Old Woman Who Never Dies, who had a white line around her head. She corresponded to the Corn Mother of the Arikara and was supposed to be very powerful. Many sacrifices were offered to her. She had six children, three sons and three daughters. The first son was day (the first of creation), the second was the sun, the third was night. The eldest daughter was the morning star (the woman who carries a bunch of feathers), the second was the striped pumpkin (a star revolving about the polar star), the third was the evening star. Besides these there was a group of supernatural beings of less prominence, among whom were the first chief, certain animal people, the thunder-bird and similar beings.

They seemed to have two distinct theories as to the hereafter, according to Maximilian part of the people adhered to each view. Both beliefs agreed that each man had four souls, one black, one brown, one clear, and the other not described. The first sect believed that the clear soul returned to the Lord of Life; another one went to the villages to the south which are often visited by the gods, and one of the souls of the brave and great men went to the villages of the gods. There was a separate village for the wicked. Life in all these villages was a continuance of that on earth, they had food, women, went hunting and on war parties, and had an abundance of everything. To this might be added Catlin's story,[1] somewhat less credible, that they believed in a warm heaven and a cold hell; that all went to hell for a while where the Good Spirit punished them, after which they went to heaven where they were again tempted by the Evil Spirit. The other sect described by Maximilian believed that after death they went to live in the sun or stars.[2]

[1] Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 257.

[2] Op. cit., p. 480.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts.

There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries. One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, however, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center,

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields.

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place.

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or

[1] Maximilian: p. 422.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's *Life* among the Indians, p. 315 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had pleased, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Bruckmbridge, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, for, if the latter are medicine, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

789 was dry and the sky was clear; the squaws were crying, and their corn was withering at its roots.

War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next; he also spent his breath in vain upon the empty air, and came down at night—and Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair) took the stand the next morning. He is a small, but beautifully proportioned young man. He was dressed in a tunic and leggings of the skins of the mountain-sheep, splendidly garnished with quills of the porcupine, and fringed with locks of hair taken by his own hand from the heads of his enemies. On his arm he carried his shield, made of the buffalo's hide—its boss was the head of the war-eagle—and its front was ornamented with "red chains of lightning." In his left hand he clenched his sinewy bow and one single arrow. The villagers were all gathered about him; when he threw up a feather to decide on the course of the wind, and he commenced thus:—"My friends! people of the pheasants! you see me here a sacrifice—I shall this day relieve you from great distress, and bring joy amongst you; or I shall descend from this lodge when the sun goes down, and live amongs the dogs and old women all my days. My friends! you saw which way the feather flew, and I hold my shield this day in the direction where the wind comes—the lightning on my shield will draw a great cloud, and this arrow, which is selected from my quiver, and which is feathered with the quill of the white swan, will make a hole in it. My friends! this hole in the lodge at my feet, shows me the medicine-men, who are seated in the lodge below me and crying to the Great Spirit; and through it comes and passes into my nose delightful odours, which you see rising in the smoke to the Great Spirit above, who rides in the clouds and commands the winds! Three days they have sat here, my friends, and nothing has been done to relieve your distress. On the first day was Wah-kee (the shield), he could do nothing; he counted his beads and came down—his medicine was not good—his name was bad, and it kept off the rain. The next was Om-pah (the elk); on his head the raven was seen, who flies *above* the storm, and he failed. War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next, my friends; the beaver lives *under* the *water*, and he never wants it to rain. My friends! I see you are in great distress, and nothing has yet been done; this shield belonged to my father the White Buffalo; and the lightning you see on it is red; it was taken from a black cloud, and that cloud will come over us to-day. I am the white buffalo's hair—and I am the son of my father."

[776] In this manner flourished and manœuvred Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), alternately addressing the audience and the heavens—and holding converse with the winds and the "*je-bi*" (spirits) that are floating about in them—stamping his foot over the heads of the *magi*, who were involved in mysteries beneath him, and invoking the spirits of darkness and light to send rain, to gladden the hearts of the Mandans.

It happened on this memorable day about noon, that the steam-boat